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Publication of The Catholic Anthropological Conference

JULY, 1955

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF CHANGE OF TITLE

Starting with Volume 26, No. 1, January, 1953, the title of *PRIMITIVE MAN*, the quarterly periodical of the Catholic Anthropological Conference, has been changed to *ANTHROPOLOGICAL QUARTERLY*.

During the last few years there have been a number of indications that the original title is no longer altogether a satisfactory one. It is felt that the new name *ANTHROPOLOGICAL QUARTERLY* indicates more accurately the scope of the journal and that the change is best made upon the completion of twenty-five volumes under the former title.

THE EDITORS

**SOME CHANGES IN BUKIDNON
BETWEEN 1910 AND 1950**

RALPH LYNCH, S.J.

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The Island of Mindanao is presently undergoing intensive study by Philippine anthropologists. May 13-15 this year, a conference on Mindanao was held in Chicago, under the leadership of Dr. Fred Eggan, who is director of the Philippine Studies Program, a cooperative enterprise of the Newberry Library, the Chicago Natural History Museum, and the University of Chicago, supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. In broaching the project to the invited participants, Dr. Eggan pointed out that "our knowledge of Mindanao is random and incomplete, and it is important that this situation be remedied, so far as possible." The author of this paper was one of fifteen invited to take part in the conference, and one of the three specifically requested to contribute reports on the Bukidnon people of north-central Mindanao. The other papers on the Bukidnons were: Rev. Frank Lynch, S.J., *The Bukidnon in Historical Perspective*, and Professor F. C. Cole, *The Bukidnon in 1910*. My own contribution was a study of the same people for the period 1945-1955.

For the purposes of the present paper Professor Cole has generously allowed me to use his unpublished notes on the 1910 Bukidnon. As was to be expected, a comparison of my own findings in recent years with Cole's observations of forty years earlier revealed some interesting changes. I shall try to summarize these under the following headings: Dress and Paraphernalia, Courtship and Marriage, Religious Concepts, Law and Order. These are the areas of greatest interest, because the changes in these are most notable.

The pattern of prehistorical migrations, as tentatively reconstructed from archaeological and racial evidence, seems to indicate that the first Bukidnon people came originally from northern Indo-China or South China, settling along the coast of the present Misamis Oriental between 1000 and 500 B.C. Whether they retreated to the highlands and upper river valleys under pressure from the Malays (c.150 B.C.), or because of the Javanese Majapahit invasion (c.1350), or when the Moros came (c.1430), or simply because the uplands were a better environment for the culture they had brought with them, is a matter for conjecture. Certainly, when the Spaniards arrived (1521), they were already removed from the coast and established as a mountain people.

Bukidnons are found from end to end of the north-central plateau that extends almost from Makahalar Bay in the north to the region of Maramag in the south, an airline distance of about 75 kilometers. Also, they extend into the mountainous regions of Misamis Oriental, behind Tagoloan, Jasaan and Balingasag, for another 25 kilometers. They are found all the way east to the *cordillera* that separates Bukidnon Province from Agusan, and all the way west to the mountains bordering Lanao Province.

DRESS AND PARAPHERNALIA

According to Cole, the Bukidnon of 1910 was remarkable, among the pagan groups of Mindanao, for being the most colorful in his dress. Women wore voluminous skirts pieced together from cloth materials of varied and striking colors, together with brightly embroidered jackets. In their hair, which was combed back straight except for short bangs, they carried inlaid combs and tassels of yellow yarn. Besides earrings and ear plugs, they also wore necklaces of beads or seeds, brass bracelets, rings, and anklets. The men wore embroidered coats and long trousers held up by decorated belts. In the knapsack carried by every man were his small personal possessions. Some had embroidered turbans and the others usually wore round hats made of bamboo or rattan.

During my stay in Bukidnon Province and in other areas close to the Bukidnon, from July 1946 to March 1953, I saw none of

the colorful garb described by Cole, except on a few ceremonial occasions. As far east as Dumalaguing, which lies between the Tagoloan River and the Agusan border, women wear simple slip-over dresses much like the American house-dress, and the younger ones are as conscious of proper fit as their American sisters. It is quite unusual to see a woman wearing bangs, and such as are seen are identified as being "from the forest" or "from the mountain." Combs are still worn, but they are neither very common nor very artistic. Bracelets are seen, but probably less than half the adult women use them. Bead necklaces are rather common, and cheap earrings are used by both women and girls. Anklets are extremely rare. In general, dress and ornamentation have lost much of the old color. Sometimes one sees the old styles in dances staged for the entertainment of visitors at the Del Monte pineapple plantation, or in fiesta celebrations, as at Talakag.

The men have become, if possible, even more colorless than the women. The shirt, when there is one, is almost always either a sleeveless undershirt of white cotton or a khaki shirt with sleeves cut off above the elbows and even at the shoulders. When long trousers are worn, and it is not often, they are usually khakis. But the usual trouser is either cut-down khakis, or else ordinary undershorts in whatever stripes and colors the nearest Chinese store is selling. Instead of the beautiful decorated belts of Cole's day, the modern Bukidnon generally ties up his trousers with a piece of hemp cord around the waist, or buys a cheap plastic belt for the same purpose. The bag for personal things is still seen but more often is not. Many of the men wear army-surplus jungle boots, shoes, or keds. A distinctive feature of men's wear in Bukidnon, compared to the nearby Visayan, is that clothing is dirtier and the cut edges of shirts and trousers are not hemmed. The bamboo and rattan hats described by Cole have disappeared almost completely, and a handkerchief has taken its place as protection from the sun on long trips under the open sky. When at home, or wherever there is good shade, men hardly ever wear a head covering. The only time I have seen the red garments associated with the old Bukidnon were

once at a wedding at Gata, once on a *datu*¹ who was visiting Impasugong, and in shows put on by Bukidnons for visitors. So much for dress.

Cole describes the common practice of mutilating the teeth, the upper incisors, by filing them across and breaking them off. This was done to facilitate the chewing of betel nut, and the operation was performed when the child was about ten years old. This practice, so far as I could observe, is now restricted to areas even more remote from the Sayre Highway than Gata, Guihian, Dumalaguin and Dahilayan, all of which are Bukidnon villages quite some distance from the mixed Visayan-Bukidnon towns. Perhaps the children themselves raise the objection that they do not want it done because they have to attend school with Visayans, and they would be derided. Mutilated teeth, as also long hair, are the mark of men and boys from places near Agusan, like Kalabugao. The practice of chewing betel nut, however, continues in vigor, and teeth are gradually stained a deep red from its use. This is true of nearly all Bukidnons.

It was common in 1910 for women and unmarried boys to shave the eyebrows, but this is rarely done any more. Men still shave by plucking the beard with tweezers, but the safety-razor has already invaded the hills. Few Bukidnon men have any beard to speak of, and it is quite common to find a man carefully nursing a diminutive chin adornment of about a dozen scattered hairs, especially a man of authority.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN BUKIDNON

Bukidnon custom is still strictly opposed to premarital intimacy between the sexes. This was the unanimous testimony of all informants I questioned in the matter during the time I was located in Bukidnon Province or in areas where there were

¹ The meaning of the title "*datu*" varies considerably, in terms of power, prestige and function, among the pagans of Mindanao. In the south, the *datu's* political power is greater and much more clearly defined than in the north. In the northeast, the *datu*, because of his superior knowledge of customary law, is very often the equivalent of a counsellor or advocate; others (in the more remote areas) may exercise real political power.

Bukidnons, July 1946 to March 1953. It was supported by two other arguments of no little merit: in only two or three cases during those years did I ever hear the expression *quyo-quyo* (living together but unmarried) applied to a Bukidnon couple, although I knew definitely of more than 150 such cases among the Visayans near them; and I came across only two cases of unmarried Bukidnon mothers, while the same misfortune was rather frequent among the Visayans. For several years I counted among my intimate friends Bukidnons who would not have hesitated to tell me of such things, with the same concern which prompted them to remark the large numbers of Catholic Bukidnons who married according to the Bukidnon rite and not in the sacramental form of the Church. I think it is a sound conjecture, then, that the situation was very much as described by my informants, that there was a strong tradition against irregular unions of man and woman.

My principal informants went further and assigned a reason for the fact, pointing out that the practice still prevails of demanding compensation from the family of a boy who would accidentally *touch* (and I mean *touch*) a girl not of his family. I had heard that there was a certain amount of matchmaking talk during the general feasting attending the wedding ceremony, but when I inquired about this point I was clearly told that it was most unlikely to happen, "for the father of the girl could demand and get a fine—say, a couple of meters of cloth—from the offender." One informant told me that this attitude is a survival of a much stricter code from earlier times, when a man could even kill a boy for laying a hand on his daughter.

This popular reverence for the chaste woman is clearly manifest in the present Bukidnon practice of waiving the bride-price if a girl has lost her virginity outside of marriage. It seems fair to conclude that the virgin is held in higher esteem because she is a virgin. Of course, one might try to argue that chastity is insisted upon by fathers of girls, and girls are watched very carefully during their adolescent years, because any scandal attaching to the girl's name will mean a loss of the bride-price when she eventually marries. But this seems to be an unavail-

ing argument, for the question always remains: Why no bride-price?

Because of this old tabu against physical contact, social dancing of boys with girls is not part of the cultural heritage of the Bukidnon. Association with Visayans, especially in the schools, has changed the picture drastically in this regard. Even in fully Bukidnon villages, like Gata, school teachers have introduced this kind of dancing, for it is a perfectly natural development of the boy-girl folk dances which are part of the school program everywhere in the islands. I know it to be a fact, however, that young Bukidnon girls were compelled to attend public dances in Impasugong, the teacher threatening to give them failing grades in social science if they did not take part. (Aside from any traditional reluctance they might have felt was the added fact that the men at the dance averaged ten to fifteen years older than the girls, were frequently intoxicated before they arrived, and annoyed the girls by their rude manners. A wise District Supervisor eventually convinced the teacher it was not part of his job to force girls to attend such dances.)

In their own barrios, then, there are few occasions where boys can develop the casual and innocent friendship with girls which are common to our own culture and rapidly becoming part of the Philippine scene. There are no common games, no clubs or organizations where boys and girls share membership. For one thing, both boys and girls have more physical labor to occupy their day than Visayan children have; and their out-of-school hours are almost entirely given to the daily chores of drawing water, fetching firewood, helping with food preparation, or even with planting and harvesting at the family *kaingin*. According to one informant, the ordinary boy meets the ordinary girl only for those fleeting moments when they happen to meet at these common tasks,—by the spring or the river, or while gathering wood, or at a feast. Of course, they see one another nearly every day in the schoolroom; but the boys are carefully separated from the girls, and a Bukidnon classroom is no place for romance.

But they do marry, and most of their marriages seem to be happy ones. Furthermore, they marry younger than the Visa-

yans by several years. Sometimes the ancient custom of betrothal-before-birth is still practised, a boy's parents pledging him in marriage to the unborn child of a pregnant woman should the child be born a girl. The contract is sealed by the simple ceremony in which the parents on both sides exchange plates prepared with betel nut. If the child born is female, the boy and girl are considered already married, and the little boy must go and live with the girl's family. I was told that this custom was revived during the Japanese occupation, when law-enforcement was at a low ebb in Bukidnon. Aside from these apparently rare cases of infant marriage, the youngest age is now about twelve years for girls. Judging from appearances only, I am inclined to believe that all married men are at least in their late 'teens. A marriage I happened to witness at Gata had a bride of about fifteen and a groom about eighteen years old.

Frank Lynch, S.J. (*The Bukidnon of Mindanao*, Manila, 1948), cites Neri to the effect that sisters must be married by seniority, with a doubled bride-price demanded when this order is violated. I was explicitly informed by an intelligent and adult witness that he had frequently seen marriages where a younger sister was married sooner than an older one, without any special bride-price being sought or given. He alleged the case of Josefina Pahaglas, age twelve, at Linabo in 1936, and was prepared to give other instances.

With respect to consanguinity bars, in the neighborhood of Impasugong it was forbidden for cousins to marry without a purification sacrifice to offset the tabu. (Exactly what cousins were meant, I did not find out.) I was told the reason was because the parents of the bride and groom "are afraid the child born from the marriage will be *baluyon* (having a dog-like face)."

The discussions preliminary to a marriage commitment, and the ritual of the wedding itself, were described to me in great detail by a Bukidnon who was thoroughly familiar with the customs followed to the east and northeast of Impasugong. It is quite probable that there are wide variations from this pattern elsewhere in Bukidnon, although all reports seem to indicate that

the tradition is essentially the same throughout the Bukidon territories.

An adult young man is permitted to tell his father that he would like to get married, and even to express a choice among the available girls. Without his father's consent, no boy may or can marry, for it requires the financial cooperation not only of the father but also of other branches of the family if the marriage is ever to come off. While no informant ever told me a *datu* could forbid a marriage acceptable to the families concerned, I have one report of a *datu* compelling a man to marry a girl who had been seduced by the man.

Supposing the father to be in favor of the marriage, the machinery is set in motion to bring it about as quickly as possible. The first step is to ask someone, usually an uncle or other close relative, to act as *kagon* or agent. (Another informant told me that the *kagon* must be a *datu*, "because he will debate with the *datu* of the girl.") Not long after, the *kagon*—if not a *datu* himself, he is accompanied by a *datu*—makes the initial visit to the girl's house. He carries a plate suspended between two crossed hoops of rattan, and on the plate is a folded piece of red cloth on which rests a half peso. As they walk from the one house to the other, the *kagon* and his companion look anxiously for bad omens, especially the bodies of dead animals. These bad omens would have to be met by ritual purification ceremonies some time before the marriage.

Arriving at the girl's house, the *kagon* announces himself in a loud voice, and the meaning of his visit is clear to anyone who sees the plate he is carrying. The visitors are invited to come up and, once inside the house, the *kagon* looks for other omens. These would be, chiefly, to see a woman member of the family with her hair still wet from bathing, a woman having her menses and, worst omen to discover, if the intended bride is not at home when they arrive. Another bad sign is for anyone to be sleeping when they come, man or woman. Obviously, there has been some previous arrangement about the time of this visit, for the girl's father has a *datu* friend with him to give counsel. All seat themselves on the floor, with the symbolic plate in their

midst. Compliments are exchanged between the families, a kind word said for the parents on each side, and about the boy and girl themselves. But this meeting is merely a polite preliminary to possible definite negotiations later. The matter of the marriage is broached in tentative terms, and a day agreed upon for another and more practical discussion, on condition that nothing intervene to alter the situation. Then the *kagon*, having asked and been granted permission to leave, ties the rattan hoops and the plate to a convenient point overhead and takes his departure, leaving his client's fate behind him on the clothcovered plate. There are several possible developments from this point on.

For one thing, the father of the girl may send another member of the family to the boy's house with the plate, returning it exactly as it was given, without adding or subtracting anything. This conveys the hopeful message that the family, while not favoring the marriage at the present time, would be willing to discuss it again some other time. Perhaps the girl's father feels he needs more time to consult with his relatives and friends about the matter. Whatever the reason, the boy's family allows a prudent interval to elapse and then takes up the matter again. Obviously, any indication of reluctance—and this is so interpreted—strengthens the hand of the girl's family in the bride-price discussion which will follow later.

Or it might be that the father returns the plate with an extra half-peso added to it. As my informant put it so picturesquely, "the extra fifty centavos is to shut the *kagon's* mouth!" The meaning is plain, and usually ends the affair. The girl's family is not only opposed to the marriage, but they do not even want to discuss it again,—and the extra fifty centavos is something of a consolation prize. But sometimes the boy's relatives are prepared to come back with an exceptionally attractive offer, and this could restore the *status quo ante*.

A third possibility is that the girl herself is against marrying this boy, but her parents think it advantageous. The Bukidnons of northeastern Bukidnon have a very simple and effective solution to this problem, and there is no danger of an impasse being created. By previous arrangement with the boy's family—

and undoubtedly with the knowledge of the girl—an old custom of the people is appealed to. The girl is commanded by her father to return the plate herself, as is. She would not dare refuse, nor take refuge in flight, nor elope with someone else. These are not in the Bukidnon pattern. She simply does as she is told, and goes off to meet her fate. As soon as she enters the other house she presents the plate to the boy's father. He, in turn, offers her a gift, such as a dress or some cloth. She is bound to accept this gift and the acceptance—in these peculiar circumstances—"locks her in the house." She is obliged by custom to remain and marry the boy. The boy's *datu* is there, of course, and runners are quickly dispatched to summon other *datu*s, the girl's family, their own relatives and interested friends. Marriage in this case will be exceptional in two ways: first, because it is performed in the boy's house; second, because it is done hurriedly and with some of the usual preliminaries omitted. There is no reason to think that a bride-price had not been agreed upon already, in private negotiations. Surely, the girl's father will not freely elect a choice by which he loses both daughter and bride-price.

The final alternative would be to do nothing, not to send the plate back at all. This means that both families will continue the discussion on the day already agreed upon. At this second meeting the families are both represented by two or more *datu*s, who manage the affair in their own way. During the discussion, they will consult with *kagon* and the girl's father, inquiring for information and opinions concerning the wealth of the boy's family, the size of the *kaingins* and farmlands, the amount of produce harvested, what animals they own, etc. This inquiry is not limited to the wealth of the boy's immediate family, for he may have quite affluent relatives who could be pressured into giving something. In fact, even the simplest bride-prices are beyond the capacity of the ordinary Bukidnon family to supply without help from relatives and friends, because they all have a cash element—and most Bukidnons do not have much hard money on hand. Here is a typical bride-price for the Impasugong area in Bukidnon in 1948:

- 3 army blankets
- 48 *yahong* (cereal bowls) "for feeding guests"
- 1 *bahandi* (large Chinese jar)
- 2 pigs
- 6 chickens
- 20 liters of *tuba* (alcoholic drink from coconut tree)
- P50 cash, for the *datus*

Before the war, both horses and carabao were more commonly owned by Bukidnons than they are now, and the bride-price usually included one or more of these animals. But now there are very few Bukidnon who are so well off, and parents are content to settle for less when this bargaining takes place. When both sides have come to an agreement, a date is set for the marriage itself. This is not much more and seldom less than a few weeks later, because the only thing that counts is to have enough time to persuade the relatives to help gather together the bride-price,—especially the hard-to-get fifty pesos.

In the late forenoon or early afternoon of the wedding day, the marriage procession forms near the boy's house, while at the other house everyone is busy cooking rice and roasting pigs and chickens. The wedding procession lines up with three *datus* at the head, dressed in the ceremonial clothes of their office: the red headband with two corners pulled up to make points above the forehead, the red shirt with dime-sized white polka dots, and long trousers (traditionally red, and tight fitting, but plain army khakis when witnessed by me). The *datus* are followed by two *dalagas*, young unmarried female relatives of the groom. Next comes the groom himself, flanked by Amay and Inay, his father and mother. There follows a long double column of male and female relatives and friends, proudly bearing the articles specified in the bride-price settlement. (This is how it was described to me. But at Gata I noted that the procession was led by one *datu* carrying the plate described as being used during part of the early discussions prior to marriage.)

Arriving at the girl's house, there may have to be a purification rite because of a kinship prohibition or some other tabu. If so, it will be performed at the foot of the ladder giving access to the house. A bound pig is brought and laid on the ground

in front of the ladder. Then the *datus* of both families join in a common prayer to Magbibaya to grant a long, happy and fruitful marriage to the couple. One of them takes a spear and plunges it through the animal's neck and into the heart, and the pig dies in a pool of his own hot blood. All the members of the wedding procession then step over the victim as they ascend the ladder and enter the house.

The groom and his parents, with all their party, arrange themselves on one side of the room, while the bride's family and friends and *datus* take the opposite side. The bride is not yet present, but is kept out of sight either in another room or behind an improvised screen. The gifts are laid in the center of the floor, and are carefully checked off by the girl's father and the *datus* of the two families. When everyone is satisfied that this part of the agreement has been respected, the girl is led into view by a woman friend of her family.

A live chicken is now carried in, and the *datus* command the couple to join their right hands. They then slit the chicken's throat and allow its blood to drip on the joined hands of the boy and girl. (This is the origin of the derisive expression *kasal nga manok*, chicken-wedding, by which Visayans refer to the Bukidnon marriage rite.) Although this particular ceremony was omitted during the wedding I watched at Gata, the reason may well have been the Bukidnon awareness that outsiders generally look upon this act as either ridiculous or obscene. Another informant told me that the *datus* also let the blood flow on the heads of the couple, and that the boy and girl do not join hands during the ceremony. The same informant contradicted my main source on another point also, saying that the *datus* do not attempt to divine from the pattern of the blood on the couple's hands how happily and long they will be married. After this rite, a bowl of water is brought in and the boy and girl wash their hands.

A grass mat (*banig*) is then spread on the center of the floor and the *datus* make the boy and girl sit down on it facing each other. A bowl, or plate, of cooked rice is set between them and, at a nod from the *datus*, the bride and groom each take

some rice into the right hand and form it into a small compact ball. Then the boy reaches over and puts his rice into the girl's mouth, and she performs the same service for him. (As I saw it at Gata, each merely fed himself.) This apparently is the essential core of the wedding ceremony, and during this *pag-pakaon* the *datus* pray to Magbibaya to make the marriage a happy one. (At Gata, no prayers were said aloud in my presence.) Next, the *datus* have the couple join their right hands above the rice, the boy's hand being above the girl's. Then all the *datus*, who have been squatting on the other sides of the square, lean towards the center and each of them places his right hand on top and his left hand underneath the couple's clasped hands, all at the same time, and all visibly pressing the couple's hands closer together. Again the *datus* pray, (unless a *dumagat*—outsider—is present). The arrangements at this moment was as follows:

Girl's <i>datu</i>	Girl's <i>datu</i>	Girl's <i>datu</i>
Girl	(rice)	Boy
	Boy's	Boy's
	<i>datu</i>	<i>datu</i>

After this ceremony, the couple get up from the floor and retire briefly to another room, or out of sight. This is a symbolic protestation of their right to live together, and the marriage is not consummated at this time. As soon as they leave the room, the *datus* begin to eat the ceremonial rice which was used in the marriage. When the bride and groom return, the girl immediately offers rice to her new parents-in-law. Only after she has done this are the guests allowed to eat.

At the Gata wedding, a traditional Bukidnon dance was performed before any feasting began. A very old woman, wearing the old Bukidnon dress now seen only at affairs like this, or at entertainments for *dumagats*, danced a stately set of figures with a little boy about ten years old. (Afterwards, when I tried to persuade her to sell me the dress for some canned foods our party had, she refused very politely. The reason she gave was that someone connected with the wedding would die if she sold the dress, but I was told that she would relent if I would pay

for a pig to be sacrificed against this evil. Having certain scruples about *communicatio in divinis*, I let the matter drop.)

Dances, songs and general merriment follow the wedding ceremony, including the felicitation of the couple by all the guests. It is a time of prodigious eating and drinking, with the poor Bukidnon enjoying to the full one of the rare occasions when they really eat all they can hold. As the night wears on, the bridal couple retire from the noisy crowd and become man and wife in one of the noisiest honeymoons imaginable. Usually everyone is so drunk on *tuba* or *pangasi* by that time that the place is a small bedlam, and no one pays the slightest bit of attention to the departure of the bride and groom.

The following morning the *datus* give the couple a lecture on fidelity and on a peaceful married life. The new husband is reminded of his lifelong obligation to obey his wife's parents, and the girl is instructed in the duties of a good wife towards her husband. After this the boy's father-in-law commands him to leave the house and gather firewood. This he does at once, but the wood has been prepared in advance and bound into a neat bundle which is just outside the house. When he comes back with it, he cuts the wood into smaller pieces in the presence of the *datus*, binds them into a bundle again with a piece of rattan, and hangs the bundle over the *abohan* (cooking table). There it remains *in perpetuum rei memoriam*. At the conclusion of this ceremonial obedience, the guests usually depart. Sometimes they have the custom that, on the third day, the new husband goes fishing with his wife and then shares the catch in a family meal with the girl's people.

The bridal couple must live with the girl's family for at least a year. During this time the boy obeys his father and helps him with the field work, clearing *kaingin*, planting, cutting and stripping *abaca*, and so on. It is a period of probation, not for the permanence of the marriage, but to judge whether the boy is capable of running his own domicile. At the end of a year, if he has given satisfactory service, the boy is allowed to go off with his wife and start life on his own, with his own house and his own *kaingin*.

From all reports in the Impasugong district, it is a fair conclusion that monogamy is the usual form of marriage there. One informant told me that most Bukidnons have only one wife but, when this wife is barren, "he will add more wife because he likes to have more children." He added that the husband can leave the wife if she has been guilty of infidelity, and that the girl's family can dismiss the husband if he is over-addicted to drink or gambling. When the girl is the one at fault, the bride-price must be returned in full. When divorce occurs, for the reasons given here, the husband is allowed to take one or two of the children, but he is never permitted to have all the *male* children.

In the Talakag district, which is close to the Moros of Lanao Province, a man may have more than one wife. Sometimes these Talakag Bukidnons take a second wife more for her services as a housekeeper than for her other charms. In the same area, a rich man may have several wives. In the Claveria area, it is customary to have only one wife. My informant for this northern extreme of the Bukidnon territory suggests that the reason is very probably that the people are simply too poor to afford having several wives. Once or twice he heard of *datus* having more than one wife, but the Bukidnons of the region clearly looked upon this as a departure from the laws and customs prevailing there among their people. He mentions the interesting fact that Catholic Bukidnons who lived near Visayan towns, while they followed the Bukidnon marriage rite instead of the Catholic, did not consider such a marriage to have any permanent binding force. In general, he says that the non-Christian Bukidnon is not noted for desertion or exchange of his marriage partner. All of them, Christian and non-Christian, show a complete disdain for the legal requirements established by the Philippine government. It should be noted that plural marriage, even among Bukidnons, is not sanctioned by the Revised Administrative Code of the Philippines. The 1950 amendments to the marriage code established a time limit for the expiration of certain privileges formerly granted Bukidnons, sc., respecting license, public banns, and the subsequent registration of the marriage at the office of the Municipal Clerk.

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

Cole has a fascinating and meticulously detailed account of the vast hierarchy of gods and lesser spirits recognized by the Bukidnon of 1910. It is the more interesting to me personally because it now appears that, certainly in northeastern Bukidnon, the people have definitely simplified their beliefs about the divine or the superhuman. My own experience in the Impasugong district is paralleled by that of Father John Pollock, S.J. in the region of Claveria, that Bukidnons have lost much of their old theological system. What survives is a modified form of Cole's pantheon of 1910, with definite shades of Christian doctrine.

They believe in a supreme God, the maker of the world, a being unequalled by any other. His name is *Magbibáya* (the creator, maker). He is a spirit who knows everything, is present everywhere, and has all creation under his inescapable rule. He has no goddess companion. Subordinate to *Magbibáya* are seven spirits appointed by him to take charge of different classes of *Magbibáya's* creatures, and these spirits are understood to have masculine personalities, even though they are not thought to have bodies. Their names are as follows:

- Magbiyó ho wáhi*—spirit of the waters
- Magbiyó ho hápoy*—spirit of the fires
- Magbiyó ho kalámog*—spirit of the winds
- Magbiyó ho úran*—spirit of the rains
- Magbiyó ho káyo*—spirit of the trees
- Ibabások*—spirit of the plants
- Anyakúsa*—spirit of the animal world

They say there is no spirit in charge of earth and stones, (stones as special *loci* of certain gods figure very prominently in Cole's account), and that thunder and lightning come under the direct and immediate governance of *Magbibáya himself*.

There is no tradition of atonement or redemption by any divine or human hero. They do have a tradition, though, of a vast flood which covered the earth, and this belief in a deluge is forever enshrined in the names given to some of the local mountains. One of these is Kitanglad, which rises to nearly

8000 feet, about 25 kilometers west of Malaybalay, and is topped in Mindanao only by Mt. Apo in Davao Province. This great height derived its name, I was told, because the waters rose so high during the flood as to leave only a tiny patch of land exposed to the sky,—just enough for planting a handful of *tanglad* grass. Another is Pangalakakan, a relatively high spot just east of the Sayre Highway at a point about midway between Impasugong and Impalutao. It was so named because the pigs, who grunt (*alakák*), found a safe refuge there from the mighty waters of the deluge. It has been suggested that it could well be renamed, for the benefit of American tourists, *Grunters' Peak!*

Magbibáya rewards the good and punishes the bad, in the present life and in the life after death. After death a man's *gimókod*, or soul, goes to Balatokan for judgment. Mt. Balatokan is the sacred mountain of the Bukidnons, in the farthest north of their territory, part of the uplands behind and beyond Balingasag, Misamis Oriental. There dwells *Gumagúnal*, the spirit who judges the souls of men. If he finds that a man was wicked during his earthly life, he condemns the unfortunate to *preso* (prison) where his punishment will be perpetual labor under duress. In answer to my explicit questions on the point, I was told that Bukidnons do not have any belief about punishment by fire. A man neither very bad nor very good is sent to a milder form of forced labor, until he can win reprieve and release. This, I feel, is almost certainly something they fashioned from Catholic doctrine on *purgatory*, absorbed either from Visayans or from the Jesuits. But there is no mention of such an intermediate state in Cole's report for forty years earlier. The good go to the skies, where they see *Magbibáya*, the guardian spirits, and the *gimókods* of their relatives and friends. How vastly this concept has changed from the time of Cole's visit! Then it was believed that the *gimókod* of every man dwelt forever on Balatokan, living the simple rustic life that was his lot on earth. It was a happy home, completely devoid of worry and anxiety. At the present time, on the contrary, the essential beatitude of the good man is conceived of as a state of perfect rest. This is a curious reversal of heavens: forever tilling in 1910, forever resting in 1948. But, while the Bukidnon seems

to have absorbed *part* of the Catholic teaching into his religious thinking, he does not seem to have been invaded by the Moro concepts to the west. His afterlife is not thought of in terms of sensual luxury, food, drink, or the perpetual attendance of lovely females. Perhaps this cannot be said of the Bukidnons closer to them, from Mirayon up to Talakag. I have no information to guide me here.

The only priesthood discovered among the northeastern Bukidnons about 1948 was the office of the *solhoáno*. This office, which they say is handed down from father to son, is chiefly concerned with the offering of sacrifices for the cure of the sick. The *solhoáno*, then, is the doctor of the Bukidnons, and his name derives from the Spanish for surgeon (*cirujano*). The sacrifice which he offers in the home of the sick person, is called *pamúhat*. (Sometimes *pamúhat* is offered in the form of a petition for other divine favors as well.) It is the duty of the *solhoáno* to discover which of the *ainítos*—guardian spirits—has been offended; for that is the reason why men become sick. It may be that a man cut down a tree which was one of the dwelling places of *Magbiyó ho káyo*; or perhaps a woman crossed a stream during her menses, and so gave offense to *Magbiyó ho wáhig*. When he has divined the reason for the trouble, the *solhoáno* sets a fine to be paid as a form of apology or reparation,—usually food in one form or another. This is to be placed near the site of the offense. Then he prays to *Magbibáya* to tell the offended spirit to relent and let the person get well. Finally a little banquet is served, chicken or pig, and the people say that the odor of this food pleases the *ainíto* and makes him friendly. In the marriages, as noted above, the *datus* are the ones who do the praying. In the *kaliga*—harvest celebration—my only information is that it is again the *datus* who lead the religious rites. Despite his apparent restriction to cases of sickness and a few other problems, the *solhoáno* is—according to my informants—"the one who knows how to pray to *Magbibáya*."

The Bukidnon is not exhibitionist in his religious ceremonies, in the fashion of the Pampanga flagellants. For one thing, he realizes that his *manok* rites are ridiculed by non-Bukidnons and

is not anxious to have them present to witness these acts which he holds sacred. For another, many of the participants are lukewarm Catholic Bukidnons who adhere to the practices either for their sentimental and tribal meaning or else because they are not well grounded in their Christian faith and have an attitude of indifference about all religious practices. I remember a Catholic Bukidnon woman at Impasugong who attended Mass nine successive days at the beginning of the school year, praying for her child's success in school. During this novena she also had several *pamúhats* celebrated in her home, evidently in the conviction that it is better to be safe than sorry. But, all in all, Bukidnons are quite good Catholics, if one considers all the circumstances of poverty and hardship which surround their lives. And this I must say for them: the entirely Bukidnon village of Dumataguing was the most fervent Catholic group I met anywhere in the province,—and that includes the largely *dumagat* populations of Malaybalay, Kisolon and Del Monte.

LAW AND ORDER

It was the constant testimony of the officers of the Philippine Constabulary that Bukidnon had the best record in the entire Philippines for the maintenance of good order. Over a period of six years, from 1946 to 1952, I heard of only three cases of murder in the province, and only one of these was the act of a Bukidnon. A native informant told me that murder has always been unusual among the people near Impasugong. Another informant told me that the early post-war years saw many murders in the Talakag area. The pattern *seems* to depend upon one's neighbors. When I inquired whether capital punishment was practised in the hills from Dumataguing east, my informant was incredulous and replied that the Bukidnon would never do such a thing. Instead, he told me, they would warn the offender not to do it again. If he became guilty a second time, he would be driven from the village.

Some of the customs formerly used for trying complaints still survive in the Dumataguing neighborhood, especially where the government officials and military patrols do not penetrate very often. The procedures are not automatic, but are turned to only

when there seems to be some danger that an aggrieved party is planning violent action against the alleged offender. It would most probably be the last resort in the case of a land-title dispute, or even when the accusation might be theft of personal property. Friends of both parties persuade them to come to a designated place, each accompanied by his *datu* (who is, among other things, the lawyer of the Bukidnon). There they prepare a chicken in the following manner: A thick piece of rattan about four or five inches long is laced firmly to the neck of the still living chicken, and then the chicken's neck is placed on a block of wood. The plaintiff is given a sharp bolo and told to sever rattan and neck with one blow. If he does so successfully, he has won his suit. Otherwise, he loses. But, as my informant told me, in that case "maybe they will fight with knives."

The ordeal of boiling water is also used. A very large *kaldero*, deep enough to hold water as high as the elbow, is set to boil. When it is already boiling, a needle or straight pin is dropped into the vessel and the accuser is commanded to reach in and fetch the article from the bottom of the *kaldero*. He wins the case if he brings the needle out. Cole reports similar trials for the 1910 period, but with certain striking differences. First, the accused—not the plaintiff—had to submit to the ordeal. Second, it was not enough merely to recover the needle; it had to be done without suffering any visible physical harm from the ordeal. Let me point out that I asked very explicitly which of the two had to submit to the ordeal in both types of trial, and I was assured over and over again that it was the accuser, the plaintiff. How this change came about I dare not say, but it seems to me it is worth noting.

Although the Bukidnons themselves have the reputation of being a peaceful people, not inclined to feud or warfare, (as Cole himself noted forty-five years ago), one part of their territory is notorious for being the hideout of outlaws from justice. This is the area extending from near Santiago north through the hills behind Claveria, and all the way up to the mountains behind Balingasag. These fugitives are called *magahats*, and their principal occupation seems to be to live on other people's labor.

They steal the ripe corn raised by Bukidnons, and sometimes raid a village at fiesta time in order to save themselves the further toil of threshing rice or raising pigs and chickens. It was a group of these people who killed Father Thomas Rocks, S.J. in 1942, and they were still around—the same group—when I was stationed at Balingasag in 1952.

CONCLUSION

What I have set down here is only a sampling from materials already assembled, and from more field data expected during the coming weeks. But one fact stands out: The Bukidnon has lost much of the most colorful part of his older culture and is absorbing very little from neighboring cultures. To quote my confrere here at Fordham, Rev. J. Franklin Ewing, S.J., "It would appear that the Bukidnon is presently engulfed in a cultural vacuum. He has exchanged what he had for the least that others had to offer." I think that about sums it up.

THE CHANGED STATUS OF TWINS AMONG THE EASTERN DAKOTA

RUTH SAWTELL WALLIS

The Science Museum
St. Paul, Minnesota

Among North American Indian groups who have abandoned the institutional aspects of their native religions, one finds to-day certain persons destined by the peculiar circumstances of their birth to be conditioned as children for roles that no longer exist. Shaman, witch and seer may no longer function in a tribe, but parents still regard with awe a seventh son, an infant born with a caul, and twins.

To Canadian Santee Dakota twinship connotes supernatural power.¹ In the old tribal days, to be born a twin in any Dakota group was to possess a high and inescapable status in life and in eternity. Before birth twins lived in the sky with the Thunder Men, travelling with them in every storm and looking for a woman in whom they would like to await human birth.² Sometimes the two failed to agree either on mother or on tribe, and thus their adult earthly life might contain an encounter of Identical Twins Reared Apart worthy of a place in the chronicles of H. H. Newman.³ In Dakota tales the parts of Fred and Ed, the telephone repairmen are played by two medicinemen, a Dakota leading a war raid who meets face to identical face with his Chippewa opposite number.

Together or apart, any twin birth was only a single episode

¹ Field work in 1952 at Oak River Reserve, Griswold and Sioux Village, Portage La Prairie, Manitoba, and in 1953 at Morton, Minnesota, was supported by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation.

² Wilson D. Wallis, *The Canadian Dakota*. (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 41, pt. 1, 1947); p. 81. Also unpublished notes, 1951-1952.

³ Horatio Hackett Newman, *Multiple Twin Births*, (New York, 1940); p. 176-178.

in repeated reincarnations. All twins were inevitably medicinemen, and their celestial life was much the same as that described by all medicinemen. But the post-parturient status and role of the twin was inescapable. Commonly, a Dakota destined for supernatural power, did not receive the commanding dream until he was twenty years of age, and so it would seem that an individual resistant to the suggestions of ambitious and hopeful parents might be able to sleep sound all his nights. But the twin had no chance of a normal social life. From the moment of birth everyone knew his destiny, and parents and especially grandparents went to work on their holy child.

The possession of *wakan* children engendered pride and fear in a Dakota band. In the twins' own family, to the awe inspired by supernatural power was added the dread of losing beloved human children. Twins were considered to be essentially one person. If they were not treated with the most exact equality, jealousy in this super-sibling rivalry would carry the less-favored twin off to the unearthly land whence he came.⁴ The surviving twin must then be guarded and indulged or he would go to find the lost half of himself. Grandparents would listen to baby speech for mention of prenatal life in the sky, of knowledge of old Dakota culture now extinct, or for prediction of reservation events. Certainly thirty years ago, perhaps much more recently, the small twin was taught to smoke to induce visions, and to make offerings for the good of the tribe. Today, ceremonial life is gone. The dream which seldom comes to the young adult need not be obeyed. The last medicineman died in 1952 and the few medicinewomen are very old. There is no longer much that a twin can do for the welfare of the tribe, but within the

⁴ There is a delightful Teton story of twins who, when left alone in their cradles, rolled over on their stomachs and counted the rows of quillwork on their pillows to be sure that neither had more than the other. Ella Deloria, *Teton Texts* (Publications, American Ethnological Society, New York, vol. 14, 1932, Tale 33, p. 197.)

See also James O. Dorsey, *A Study of Siouian Cults* (Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, vol. 11, 1889-1890) p. 482-483. Gilbert Livingstone Wilson, Notebooks, vol. I, 1905, (unpublished manuscript collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul).

family, the pride continues, the fear of loss, and the need for tender guardianship of the children who are thunderbirds, "not like ourselves",—at least until school comes and ends the power.

What is it like to have been such a child, born thirty years ago, or twenty or even ten? What sort of personality problems does such conditioning by adults produce in the frustrated little shaman? Among Canadian Dakota, less than a thousand in number and resistant to hospitalization, we met only two twins, each the survivor of a two-sexed pair, a woman of thirty-two and a girl of nine. Isabelle, born in 1920 volunteered, in the course of a Socialization Interview,⁵ the following information about her twinship. She was, she said, bad-tempered because she was a spoiled *wakan* child. Her bonnet was beaded with ten-cent pieces. When the family went to a pow wow, her navel cord case was sewed to her belt, and her mother or her grandmother gave away a blanket or clothing. To bring about her career as a medicinewoman, her grandparents, when she was four or five, made her smoke. Two or three times she pronounced words like people she saw in visions. The grandparents made feasts for her and taught her to pile stones, smoke them, place red feathers on them and ask for health and other good things. Once, when she was given a certain kind of fish to eat, she had convulsions, and an old medicinewoman said that fish was a source of power to her and therefore tabooed. Her grandparents never let her eat it again. "I was different from other children." Then at the age of seven she was sent to boarding school and that ended all the power and the glory. The first time she ate the fish at school, she was sick but not on later occasions. The grandparents died, and when she left school, it was for the home of mother and stepfather on a different reservation.

To Isabelle today, just about everything is wrong. In the course of several interviews she blamed her restlessness on the fact that her parents had a husband waiting for her when she finished boarding school, and refused to let her train for nursing.

⁵ *Socialization Interview*, prepared by the staff of the Laboratory of Human Relations, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University.

"All my hopes," she says, "were shattered."—"Life here isn't like TRUE STORIES." In spite of these acculturated phrases, her performance as mother and housewife is more obviously "Indian" than most women of her age. She says, "I want my girls to be something. Indians *can* be something," but she expects less of them than is usual, never visits the school, and in her age group is conspicuous for not cooking and serving regular meals to her family. She likes to talk about old Dakota customs and values, and had chosen topics for each of my visits. Only once what is perhaps the essential truth of her life slipped out: "I wonder how it would have turned out if I had followed the old Indian ways. I was something more like a god."

The other little god, Kate, is still a child. In 1952, aged nine, she had just completed her first year at boarding-school and had returned to the home of her stepfather and four young half-siblings. All five children were present during the Socialization Interview. In the brief interval of an invented errand on which I sent the crew, Kate's mother replied readily to a question about supernatural evidences in the child. Kate had repeatedly heard someone crying—which no one else could hear—from the graveyard a mile away on a hilltop. A vivacious young aunt, a former school teacher, gave me the rest of the information about Kate. The twin, a boy, died at the age of nine months. When Kate was a small child, she was always looking for him and saying she would go home to him. Her grandfather who understood her and spoiled her, died in 1951. Kate "is like one of the old-time ladies; she says things out of the long ago." She had predicted the sex of the infant just born to her mother. Because she "is not like others," the family was certain she would not succeed in school, but she has written letters which are good for a nine-year-old. So, they concluded, she can make it all right.

In contrast to these partially-functioning beliefs is the attitude toward twins among Dakota in Minnesota. At the Lower Sioux Community near Morton, three mothers of twins talked freely about their children. Twins are chiefs who died and are reborn. They are more gifted, smarter than others, and can predict the future. They are essentially one person, and if not treated alike,

the jealous one will die. The source of this information is a very old respected couple, themselves twice parents of twins, who instructed the two younger women. Anecdotes about two young sets of twins now living sound like slightly exaggerated accounts of white mothers. An element not mentioned in Manitoba is the dream foretelling birth of twins. A woman of 88 said that she dreamed she saw two lakes just alike and in identical settings. From the shore of each lake came a little boy. They met and together walked toward her. She had twin boys. Her husband dreamed that he saw a little girl and boy go to the house of his grand-daughter who did not know she was pregnant with twins until months later. Said the granddaughter, "He named them. I had them."

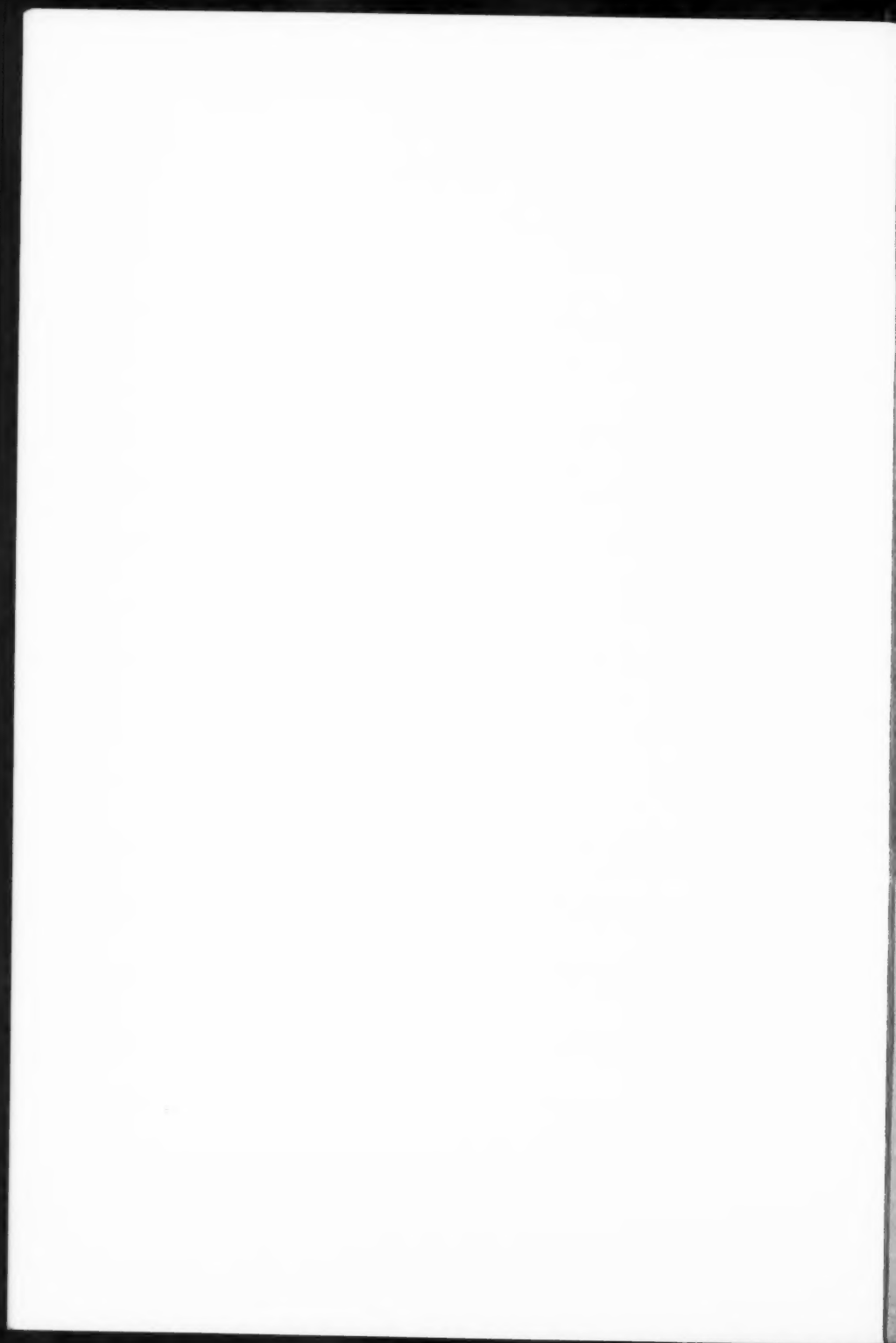
In this highly acculturated Minnesota group twins are no longer thunder birds, although to their own families they seem special and somewhat strange, and they receive preferential treatment based on the tribal fear of their early death. Their future is whatever one cares to predict for any spoiled child.

Perhaps before long Dakota twins born on Manitoba reserves will also suffer merely from over-indulgence, but now children reared as was Kate, particularly when their lives are complicated by the status of stepchild, will find adjustment difficult in a social world where their "difference" is without value.

The problem of the Indian adult, who, because of conditions surrounding his birth, has been led from childhood to believe in the possession of supernatural powers and in their rewards is, of course, not limited to twinship nor to a single tribe. Two instances from our recent field work may be briefly mentioned: a seventh son of Manitoba Dakota parents who tried somewhat tentatively to suggest to him that he had healing powers, and had given it up when he entered school, but in the process had branded him before he was eight with the nicknames of "Doctor" and "Old Man." And there are Maliseet born with a caul whose power of witchcraft was exploited from birth to the moment of its destruction by the First Communion.

If the Dakota twins, Kate and Isabelle should have twins, will these children be conditioned as a little less than gods? One would like to know.





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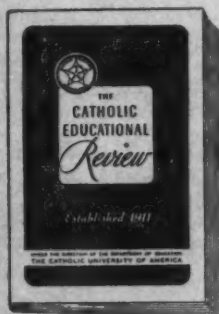
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